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“(e) when the Panchayat Board of Mupparru was formed and how many presidents have been convicted or removed from its inception and what are the reasons for their conviction or removal from their respective offices?”

THE HON. SRI J. L. P. ROCHE VICTORIA :—“(a) Petitions in writing were received by Government and the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards only.”

“(b) Yes.

“(c) The enquiries were made by the Deputy Panchayat Officer, Eluru. The report was not received by the Inspector before 25th June 1951.

“(d) The Deputy Panchayat Officer issued a notice to the petitioner Sri M. Kotaiah Nayudu to appear before him at the office of the Mupparru Panchayat on 14th September 1951 with his witnesses. The petitioner did neither attend the enquiry nor produce witnesses but suggested to the Deputy Panchayat Officer that he might himself summon some four persons to give evidence. One of them Sri Ganapati Venkatakrishnaiah, President, Pedapadu Panchayat, a resident of another village, namely, Nayudugudem turned up and deposed that he knew nothing of the matter. The Deputy Panchayat Officer's report was submitted to the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards by the District Panchayat Officer on 24th September 1951.

“(e) The Mupparru Panchayat was constituted in the year 1928. Of the six persons who came to occupy the position of president so far, two were removed from office for misappropriation of funds, and they were also convicted by a court of law.”

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

II.—GOVERNMENT BUSINESS.

- (1) GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1952-53—cont.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“The general discussion of the Budget will now proceed.”

(At this stage, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, a member of the Panel of Chairmen, occupied the Chair.)

- * MRS. M. N. CLUBWALA :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I first express my disappointment at not having many of our other Ministers on the Treasury Bench and I will miss telling them of their many defects and receiving their answers.

“Sir, our Finance Minister, the Hon. Mr. A. B. Shetty, has been described by Mrs. Hensman, my colleague, as sweet and mild, in the presentation of the Budget, either because it is a four-months budget or because the mild and sweet Minister for Finance has not been very helpful in budgeting anything under Miscellaneous for

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some of the causes with which I am interested. I know that the Government have had to face very many difficulties during their regime because there has been failure of rain, failure of food and many other difficulties in the State. But, Sir, why is there this slackness in our State to support social welfare, whereas the other States in India are so very generous in encouraging social welfare workers? When we travel in other countries and see what great help the Governments of those countries give and how much finances they give to welfare agencies, we feel disappointed. Today the Government have taken over two schemes started by voluntary workers years ago. Those voluntary workers had to fight against criticism, against propaganda and lack of funds. I refer to the Women's Welfare Department and the Vigilance Association. They are now Government-owned and the Government take a great deal of credit. Rightly so. But then we would never have had such agencies had it not been for the good work done by the pioneers. I know the Government have some of their pet schemes. But why have they not included the other well-recognised ancient agencies working for social welfare, in the Budget? There is so much of beautiful land lying vacant. Some time back, about four years ago, I think, the Government appointed a Committee to choose sites for Youth Camps. We prepared an extensive scheme and experienced people went all over the countryside and saw many sites and put up proposals to the Government. But the proposals have been shelved. After all so many of our children live in such poor surroundings and they have not the good fortune to go out for health and recreation. They must have the opportunity to enjoy outdoor life. But no opportunity has been given to them in this direction. As you know, the Scout and Guide movements have become one now. It was a wish very often expressed in this Legislature by the then Minister for Education that, if both these movements became one, the Government would give us a large and better grant. Madras has taken the lead and we have become one agency, but there is very small help given to us in this direction. On behalf of this movement, I agree that giving better grants is not for salaries but we only ask for grants to help us in company with others to start open groups and help them to clothe themselves because that is one of the biggest difficulties they cannot solve.

"Then, Sir, in regard to the work of other welfare departments, both Indian and missionary, they are also suffering. I refer to the case of burnt-out lepers. Some time ago the Government passed an order that they would not give grants to institutions in respect of burnt-out lepers. They are giving grants for infectious cases at the rate of Rs. 9 per mensem per leprosy patient. Yet the Government Leprosy hospitals are charging Rs. 50 a month per leprosy patient. How can the Government expect voluntary organisations to turn out good work if they lack finance? They do raise their own money but still that is not sufficient. The result is that such organisations cannot afford to keep the burnt-out cases with their own slender resources and the patients coming back to society is not very pleasant either to themselves or to the public; on the other hand, they are a nuisance both to themselves and to society.

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I have specially promised some of these agencies that I would strive my best and plead with the Government to reconsider their decision in this direction.

“ I think, our Ministers are very public-spirited gentlemen and whenever they visit the institutions they have been shown a lot of goodwill. You must think that social welfare is very important and the goodwill you receive from them will depend on the amount of goodwill you show them. After all, you say that our State is a Welfare State, but I may say that it is only 50 per cent Welfare State.

“ Now, Sir, I would like to refer to a scheme which I feel so sore about and I think many social workers are sore about it also. I see the Hon. Chief Minister is smiling at me. I hope that some time or other he will nod his head and say ‘ yes ’. I am referring to the school for social work.

“ Our own boys and girls are going to schools of social work in Bombay, Delhi and Baroda for training. The cost there is prohibitive and many boys and girls cannot, therefore, afford to go to such places. But many of the students from these agencies come here to study field work in Madras because Madras has the best pilot scheme, the best in field work. Time and again we have made several requests to the Government and though at one time we had quite high hopes. I am sorry to say, they were blasted. I am speaking not on behalf of myself alone, but also on behalf of my colleagues. We have passed resolutions and we have gone to one Minister after another. I think I have paid at least 50 visits—my colleagues and I put together—to the Ministers and the Secretaries concerned and I was always told, ‘ you please go and ask a particular Minister because he is the person concerned ’ and then he passed me on and on right up to the Hon. Chief Minister. The Hon. Ministers and the Hon. Chief Minister know that after all we are only asking for a very, very small grant, about Rs. 20,000 recurring and Rs. 20,000 non-recurring. An important personage has promised to give us a substantial financial aid if we have Government backing. Other friends in England and America have also promised us liberally free of cost lecturers and an excellent library. We have our own training centres. Can’t you be more considerate and thoughtful about the scheme? Daily we get many boys and girls asking us when the school will start and whether they would be taken into the school. We talk about the welfare of labour and the Hon. Minister for Labour put in a special request and we had a conference and prepared a scheme. But, what is the use of having schemes if we do not have welfare workers to man these schemes? Therefore, I plead with you most humbly and sincerely to do something about it.

“ When we go to conferences in other places in India, which people from other States also attend, we hear one by one, each State having its own school and we are being laughed at and told : ‘ if you, social workers cannot persuade your Government, let us come and tackle them. ’ The Hon. Minister may smile, but we feel dejected about such remarks. It is not a whim of mine. Some people have

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been saying that a few well-dressed ladies are doing something. Well-dressed or plain-dressed, it is a fact that they do excellent work. I challenge anybody who says, 'no'. Please think about it; please do not let us lose all the goodwill that is given to us. We do not want to burden you with too much demand for money, but what we want is patronage; if we do not get the patronage of the Government, we cannot get many other things. We are aware of it.

"Now, Sir, turning to the Hon. Ministers for Food and Agriculture, they have been very good to the Women's Food Council, and indeed we are grateful to them and we are very much indebted to the Government for giving us the premises for running the Annapurna Cafeteria. We would plead with the Government to give us more and more such places to run cafeteria. Thousands of people are patronising this cafeteria. We are serving cheap and wholesome food amidst very clean surroundings. We are not a profit-making organization. Even when we supply things at a cheap rate we do make and we are making a little profit, and we are only utilising it for the improvement of the organization. I know many of the restaurants are annoyed at us and I understand that petitions have gone to the Government requesting them to close it down. I am glad that because people realise the good work that is turned out by the cafeteria we are continuing to do our work and certain restaurants near the cafeteria have brought down their prices. I hope when Hon. Ministers have a little bit of leisure they will come to our cafeteria and give us an opportunity of showing them the good food we are giving. I think the Hon. Minister for Food visited it once. Therefore, Sir, we plead that more places like that may be given to us. And, if the Government feel like giving us more such places, we can do much more. But, lack of transport stands in the way.

"I congratulate the Government on building the fine Nurses' Quarters. We are happy that it has come into being. I hope the Government will be able to give better salaries to nurses so that we may be able to get a better class of girls for the nurses' course.

"Then, Sir, our hospitals are inadequately staffed. If you visit the out-patient department any day of the week, you will find how people have to wait and wait and sometimes they are at the mercy of the menials who pick and choose and let them go in for treatment. It is, therefore, very proper that Government should have more people to help the poor and the illiterate to get medical attention as quickly as possible. Several malpractices go on and I can testify to those personally.

"Sir, on behalf of the Women's Association, I have to say we are grateful to the Government for all the help and encouragement they are giving to the Cancer campaign. I think the Government know that, at the head of the campaign, is our great and famous social leader Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi. They may put young people like us aside, but they cannot do so with people like our veteran social worker, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi.

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“ There are also one or two other things I would like to refer, about the homes for the aged. There is one at the Manigar Choultry. We have got on the whole only three homes for the aged people in our City. One of them is beautifully run by nuns. But if one looks at the Budget, the cost of maintenance and upkeep of these homes is the same for all. The inmates are fed, but nobody bothers about their frame of mind or to ascertain what is worrying them. I wish there is greater improvement in these homes. 12-30 p.m.

“ Youth is the most precious asset of any country. The Juvenile Courts are swarming with children who have either no parents or who have parents who are so poor that they have left their children to fend for themselves. We cannot avoid in the trains or railway stations beggar boys around us and girls too, and when we turn them away, some of them use vulgar language and offer threats. Others come purely with the idea of stealing. Perhaps Hon. Ministers do not see these beggar boys and girls as they are warned not to make noise near, or approach, the saloons in which the Ministers travel. They will see these beggars if they travel in the ordinary way. In the Juvenile Court, this year alone, over 300 cases have come to us under the Prohibition Detection Scheme. Boys carry arrack and spirits for grown-ups. The boys are asked to carry these for 4 annas. They not only carry the arrack but some of them even drink it. Even girls have been found in possession of arrack. If Prohibition is to be enforced in the State, it should be enforced strictly. Something must be done to stop this wastage of the youth. A large sum of money will have to be spent for the purpose. Even if the Government give a half of it to voluntary agencies, we are prepared to run homes for these children and make them better citizens of the country.

“ The Government say they cannot help social service organizations with funds. At the same time, they have restrained the organizations from raising funds for charities in the form they choose. I see nothing wrong in running a raffle. There is no gambling in this. People purchase tickets knowing that they are helping a worthy cause and a small gift is raffled to help the organization to raise money. Let the Government allow social workers the freedom to raise funds in the manner they choose. More and more people are coming forward to render social service. We want to make our nation as good as any other nation in the world, and we hope to succeed if only the Government give us more help. I do not ask the Government to take the welfare agencies under their aegis as, I think, it is not correct to do so. There are people ready to do the work. Only let the Government give them encouragement.

“ Since this is our last session, I wish to pay my tribute to the Hon. Chairman. He has been broad-minded and fair to all Members. He encouraged the Members to express their views. When I first made my Budget speech, I read it. He insisted that I should speak extempore. Since then, I have made several extempore speeches. I thank him for the encouragement he gave me and I shall always remember it.

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“ Sir, I take this opportunity of thanking the Hon. Ministers for the great encouragement they have given to the Social Welfare Agencies by their presence, goodwill and other forms of help. With all that, I do feel it very regrettable that they have not been generous where they could have been.

“ I thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to speak.”

SRI M. D. T. KUMARASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak. This is the last speech on the Budget that we will be making in this House. I do not want to deal with very many details. I shall be brief and point out a few grave irregularities in the hope that our successors at least will rectify them and give real help to the suffering public.

“ Ever since this Government came into existence, their hobby has been to waste money lavishly on their pet schemes. Anything must have a permanent and lasting value. It is an admitted fact that Prohibition is a thorough failure. On account of their Prohibition policy, the Government have lost all these years a considerable revenue and to enforce that policy they have to maintain a staff which also is a waste. The Firka Development Scheme is another white elephant. It looks as if public money is being wasted just to satisfy a set of people. The creation of new departments and the expansion of existing departments are only for the purpose of paying and retaining those who are employed in high offices. The result is that inefficient work is being turned out and this is a serious matter which has got to be looked into. As the Government go on expanding departments without any limit, they are unable to pay the old staff adequately and they consequently suffer and work a discontented manner. Though the well subsidy scheme is a good one, it has been more mismanaged than anything else. People did not get the desired benefit; on the other hand it has ruined several small landholders. Enormous amounts are being wasted on the Grow More Food Campaign, especially for maintaining the Special Engineering department on the plea that additional acreage will be brought under cultivation. I am sure all this is a jugglery and the money is being shared by the department and the contractors. Slow and steady progress alone will bring long-range benefits. These hasty schemes are only an eyewash and waste of public funds. If only the Government pay greater attention to the proper upkeep of existing irrigation sources, that itself will help to grow more food in these days of famine conditions. First the Government should provide water for the existing ayacut and then think of letting water for bringing new lands under cultivation. Let us be slow and sure. Mere show is no good. Let there be no paper scheme to throw dust in the public eye. Have the Government examined whether the production under the Grow More Food Scheme has been commensurate with the amount invested? I do not mean that money should not be spent on improvement works; only, money should be spent economically and with due regard to the return.

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The people of Tirunelveli district thought that the Manimuthar Project would be completed early, and the Minister gave us all hopes and collected money. What we now see is that money is being wasted lavishly on officers posted for doing preliminary work. The vehicles at the disposal of these officers are used only for the purchase of milk, ghee, buttermilk, cigarettes, etc., from the adjacent villages. A major portion of the amount will be swallowed up by the preliminary work. I understand that the scheme is at a standstill, though the foundation was laid with all pomp and glory long long ago. It is very regrettable to note this state of affairs. Several other pending schemes are also in the same state. Though the Members on this side of the House have been pointing out instances of wastage of public funds, the Government did not pay heed to them because of their steam roller majority and went at breakneck speed with the result that the party in power is not in a position to form a stable Government though they have come out as the largest party in the Assembly in the recent General Elections. I wish to bring to the notice of the Government that people are discontented and have lost their confidence in the party in power. It is the disunion among the other parties that helped the party in power to come out as the party with the largest strength in the Assembly. I wish and hope that our successors will be imbued with the idea that the only way to build up the country is to carry out schemes slowly and steadily. Rome was not built in a day.

"In the interests of sound administration, it is better that partymen do not interfere in local and provincial administration. By this I do not mean that they should not represent matters which deserve to be brought to the notice of the officers concerned. Only they should not interfere in actual administration or threaten officers. I do not want to go into details.

"I thank our Hon. Chairman and also the Temporary Chairman now occupying the chair for all the kindness that they have shown to the Members."

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—"Sir, let me congratulate you on your taking the Chair for the second time in this House. I have no doubt that you will conduct the deliberations of this House with the tact and ability that have been associated with you.

"We cannot but feel disappointed at the White Paper that has been supplied to us and the speech of the Hon. Minister in charge of Finance. I am quite aware that the Government are taking a vote on account only for the first four months of the year. But the budget that has been presented relates to the whole year. So, one would have expected the Ministry to give us a full picture of the financial position of the State and their achievements during the past six years. It may be argued that as this is only a Caretaker Ministry and as the Ministers who are in charge of certain portfolios are not in office, they are not competent to give a full picture. I say this is not a valid argument. The Cabinet has been working on the principle of collective responsibility. Though there

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have been changes in the personnel of the Cabinet now and then, the same party has been in power throughout the last six years and that party has been taking pride in the fact that the Congress Ministry continued to function all through. So, there could not have been any change in the principles and policies of the Government. That being the case, I cannot understand why the Ministry find themselves unable to place before us the full picture. Year after year, I have been pleading that the Budget speech of the year should narrate the achievements of the Ministry during the previous years, especially during the past year to enable the Members to understand how far the Ministry has succeeded in implementing the policies and programmes they have set before themselves and whether there is proper correlation of the future policies to those of the past. Members are very much handicapped for want of this full picture. I hope I am not wrong in characterising this session as a lame-duck session, if I am permitted to use an American expression.

12-45
p.m.

"That is why we are very much handicapped, and we do not know to whom we are making our suggestions and of what value our suggestions will be. The Care-taker Ministry is not responsible to this House. And if they are responsible to this House, this House will last only for a few days more. Such being the case I do not know of what use our suggestions will be. Still we follow the current, and I have to offer some suggestions in the hope that the successors to this Government or at least posterity may know what our ideas are and appreciate them in their proper perspective. One refreshing contrast of this session to the previous session is that we find ex-Ministers, ex-Chief Ministers and stalwart members of the Congress party rising one after another and vying with each other in denouncing their own policy and the policy of their own colleagues and of their own party. New light seems to have dawned on them, and I cannot resist the conclusion that if any one reads in cold print the speeches made here and outside by these stalwart members of the Congress party, one would find them to be a paraphrase of the speeches made by members on this side of the House—rather I would call those speeches a second edition of the speeches made on various occasions by members on this side of the House. This is a refreshing contrast, and I welcome it because I see in it the signs of the times. Only yesterday, the ex-Law Minister stated—I would say he confessed—that they at the top were not able to understand the position correctly and that they did certain things without sufficient imagination. I do not think there can be a graver condemnation of the performance of the Ministry than this. The ex-Chief Minister yesterday went on strongly condemning the policies and action of the Government. Probably the results of the elections have been an eye-opener to those stalwarts of the Congress party. Possibly they may be smarting under the blow they got at the polls. Perhaps this illumination might have come to them on account of their coming into closer contact with the masses during

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the elections with a view to securing their valuable votes. Anyhow this is a welcome sign of the times, and if this is continued, I am sure it will be better for the country. It seems that the spirit of introspection has come to them as a result of the elections. Some of them at least have now come to understand their policies correctly. It is quite possible that some might say that these persons who have been defeated at the polls are now speaking with an eye on the future elections which are expected to take place very soon. Even then I welcome this realisation on the part of these former members of the Congress Government. It has been pointed out by these stalwarts of the Congress that though crores of rupees have been spent by the Government during the last six years on many schemes, though taxes have been increased, and new taxes have been imposed, still the common man has not felt, and does not feel, that there has been any change in his lot. That is a fact. We have been crying hoarse about these things, and on those occasions we were ridiculed for speaking about the common man. Now times have changed and these stalwarts of the Congress have begun to plead the cause of the common man. Here again we stand vindicated in our attitude towards the policies of the present Government. It is good that as a result of the elections they have been able to understand the actual state of affairs in the country and the real condition of the poor masses. No less a person than that stalwart Congressman, who had been The General Secretary of the Indian National Congress for several years and who had also been the Rashtrapathi of the Congress (Mr. Kripalani), has said that people feel that the Britisher's regime was far better than the present Government. He has been repeating this *ad nauseam*, and the Ministers who had been defeated in the elections are now confirming his statement. But what is the good of trying to close the door of the stable after the horse has been stolen? We have been urging the same thing on the Government during all these six years. But our suggestions and criticisms fell on deaf ears. If the Government had given proper heed to our representations and suggestions, and if they had tried to act on our suggestions, this debacle could have been avoided, and the country and the people would have been saved from much misery. Unfortunately, the Government were too self-conscious and sure of their own infallibility, and the result is the State has been landed in misery. It is now too late for them to bemoan what has happened and to remedy the situation. This is one side of the picture arising out of the elections. I would have expected them to give us the other side of the picture also. When we had occasion to discuss the elections on the motion of the Government, the Minister for Elections, speaking on delimitation of the constituencies and other allied subjects again and again reiterated that he was anxious that the minorities should get proper representation in the legislatures of the country. He was also sure that the method of election prescribed by them would ensure proper representation for the minorities. Time and again we pointed out that the method adopted would not ensure proper

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representation for the minorities. But now, Sir, the elections have proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the minorities cannot get proper representation in the legislatures by the method adopted in the recent elections. In view of the incontrovertible fact that minorities based on culture, language and religion do exist in this land, and that the Constitution itself recognises the existence of these minorities and guarantees to them the maintenance and development of their culture, their religion, their language, and even their scripts, we pointed out that these rights guaranteed to the minorities could not be implemented and guaranteed unless there was a proper device adopted for ensuring adequate and proper representation of these minorities in the legislatures of the country. We urged that the best method would be the continuance of the separate electorate though the party in power had been looking at it with the greatest amount of hatred and suspicion. If they cannot come round to continue the separate electorate, we suggested (and some other Members of the House and some of the Congress party also supported us) that the system of multi-member constituencies with cumulative voting could be adopted so that the minorities could get proper representation in the legislature. Another suggestion was also made, namely, proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. But all our suggestions were brushed aside, and the joint electorate system was held to be the panacea for all the ills of the country. What is the result of the elections, I humbly ask of them. The party in power did not put up a sufficient number of candidates from the minority communities. I am quite well aware of the instructions they have been receiving from the Rashtrapathi of the Congress to set up an adequate number of representatives from the minority communities so that they may get sufficient representation both in the State Legislature and in the House of the People. But you know what happened, Sir? A sufficient number of candidates belonging to the minority communities was not selected by the Congress Party. When the President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee was questioned about this, he said that 'suitable' Muslims were not available in the Congress Party. Thereby he impliedly admitted that those Muslims who are in the Congress Party are not 'suitable' to represent the Muslims of the country in the legislature. He was in other words giving expression to his opinion as to the character and the nature of the Muslims who are in the Congress Party. I do not want to dwell on that point any further. The same fate happened to Christians also. Those of my Christian friends, who both in the Constituent Assembly and elsewhere refused to support our stand for separate electorates have now come to me and said: 'Well, we were wrong in opposing you; now from our experience we have come to know that your stand is quite all right'. Unless we have separate electorates or some device by which the true representatives of the minorities can be elected, the minorities will not have adequate representation in the legislature to voice forth their grievances and represent to the Government their needs

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and requirements, and their grievances and hardships. I am glad that some of my friends have come to realise our viewpoint, and very soon I hope they will rally round and fight in the proper manner for securing effective representation for the minorities. When I say this, people may say that I am the same old communal-minded person, that I am a Muslim Leaguer, and, therefore, I must get out of India. That is the only reply I have been able to get from those who are against my view. They are not able to answer my arguments. When Johnson failed in his arguments, he used to hit with the butt end of his pistol. Here I see the butt end of the pistol being freely used to meet our arguments. The elections have proved that in the joint electorate system, the minorities cannot get proper representation—or any representation—in the legislatures of the country.

“ Now, Sir, nobody can say that passions run high in our State. Animosity and hatred have almost died down and we may say that our State is almost in a state of normalcy. Even then, only four Muslims have been elected in Malabar from Constituencies in which the Muslims are in a majority. Except for them, I do not find any true representative of the Muslim community elected to the Legislative Assembly of the State or to the House of the People. Of course one Muslim gentleman Mr. B. Pocker has been elected from Malabar to the House of the People. Except for these people, no proper representative of the Muslim community has been elected.” 1 p.m.

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—“ What about the Muslim returned in North Arcot? ”

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM:—“ I know that and I am coming to that subject. I have not forgotten that. True, two Muslims have been returned on Congress ticket. If the hon. Member asks the Muslims of those places whether those two people will be their true representatives in the legislature, he will get a suitable reply.”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—“ Anyway they have been returned.”

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM:—“ Yes, they have been returned. When there was British bureaucracy and when some Indians were nominated to the Executive Council or to the local legislature, were they considered as true representatives of Indians? We were saying that those Indians nominated by the British could not represent the Indians effectively in the legislature or the Executive Council. These two Muslims have been returned on account of the votes cast in their behalf by the vast majority of persons belonging to communities other than Muslims. That nobody can deny. I too had very good support of my Hindu brethren in my constituency and so also Mr. Anwar. Both of us lost only by a small percentage of votes. But these are exceptions.”

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MRS. MONA HENSMAN:—"On a point of information, may I know, Sir, whether the hon. Member's speech is a budget speech or an election speech?"

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM:—"Sir, the hon. Lady Member perhaps does not know that during the budget debate we can talk on any subject under the sun and even beyond the sun."

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN (Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar):—"I hope not. (Laughter.) The hon. Member has exceeded the time limit. The Chairman has suggested a certain time limit, which the hon. Member has exceeded. Anyway, he can continue for a few minutes."

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM:—"Sir, I had no knowledge about the time limit. If I had been informed of it earlier, I would have adjusted my speech suitably."

"The President of the Indian National Congress who visited this State on the eve of elections while speaking at Madras about the Muslim minorities said, 'I do not want to come in their way legally or constitutionally. But I will certainly come in their way in every other manner.' That was the threat extended to the Muslim minorities of this State. He said that he would not come in their way either legally or constitutionally but would come in their way in every other manner. What is this third alternative other than legal or constitutional? I am not able to understand what this can be unless it is an illegal and unconstitutional way. I am really very sorry that the President of the Indian National Congress should have made such a statement. In spite of that, the Muslims have rallied round the Muslim League and have wholeheartedly voted according to the mandate of the League irrespective of caste, creed or community unlike the Congress people who have been obviously actuated by feelings of caste, creed and community and even of sub-castes. Thus the Muslims of this State have exhibited very clearly that the Muslim League is their sole representative organization. Members of the other communities have also realized this fact and therefore they sought the support of the Muslim League during the recent elections. Sir, you may be aware that more than 170 members have been given support by the League and more than 41 of them have come out successful with the support of the League. They realize now that if the League had not supported them, they would not have come out successful. This clearly shows how the Muslims stand by the League and how they consider it as their sole representative organization, which alone will effectively safeguard the rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution. Sir, I must also say that I am not unconscious of the fact that this threat of the President of the Congress has affected certain sections of the population among the minority communities. I have very painfully to point out that even cultured people have fallen a prey to that threat. For the purpose of getting back our election deposit, we have to affirm before a Revenue Officer not lower in rank than that of a Deputy Tahsildar,

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that our nomination has not been accepted in any other constituency. I had to do the same thing to get refund of my election deposit and I approached a Muslim Officer who may shortly become a District Collector. He has only to attest my signature. Do you know what the reply was that I got from him? He said: 'If I attest your signature I may be looked upon with suspicion by the Government.' That is what he said."

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN (Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar):—"I am sorry to interrupt the hon. Member. Unless there is documentary evidence to that effect, I do not think it is fair or proper to drag the name of any Government servant in this connexion."

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM:—"I only mentioned that incident as an illustration of the general attitude and mentality of certain Muslim Officers of the Government. They are in a state of perpetual fear and fright. They are responsible persons who have to administer justice to the people and safeguard the rights of the citizens of the land irrespective of their political and religious complexion. They are now in a state of nervousness and fear. Can such a state of affairs be safe for democracy? I do not want to dwell on that further."

"Coming to the matter of Prohibition, there has been much talk on Prohibition. Mr. Chairman, I do know what your view in this matter is. But I may tell this House that so far as the members of my community are concerned, Prohibition is an article of faith with us. Throughout the centuries, Islam has stood for Prohibition and it has been the greatest Prohibition Association in the world. I hope that whatever Government may come into power, they will follow the Prohibition policy, and not whittle it down on the ground that there has been loss in revenue. I have repeatedly pointed out in this House that it is not loss of income, but only refusal to take tainted money, money which is got out of the miseries of the common man. Prohibition may have failed in certain places because of certain lacunae in the law and in its enforcement. It is the duty of the Government to fill up those lacunae and devise and set up a proper machinery for the successful enforcement of the Prohibition Act. The Government should not give it up on the ground that in certain places people have transgressed the law."

"I am very sorry that the Government have not done anything to stop betting on race horses. This gamble has been going on in the race course and even outside. In my first Budget speech I pleaded for the abolition of this evil which has been the cause for the ruination of several families. I was the first to advocate its abolition. Next year, Mr. Prakasam did not take credit for the income from the race course. A Bill was even published in the Gazette. It was not moved for a long time. Later, on account of pressure from us, the Bill was moved and passed into law. But Mr. Bhaktavatsalam who was in charge of the Bill, did not put

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any time-limit for the enforcement of the Act. He said that the Government would fix the time from which it would come into force. It is now more than four years since the Act was enacted and still it remains a dead letter. I do not know why this Government should be a party to the continuance of the miseries of hundreds of poor families, I appeal to the Government to give effect to this measure which has been duly passed by the Legislature and give relief to the suffering poor people.

“ With regard to the exploitation of lignite, *ad nauseam* I have repeated that the underground wealth of this State should be sufficiently tapped. Even now, the Government say that they have to consider about the expenditure of Rs. 1 crore for starting a pilot scheme in South Arcot. It is doubtful whether even that pilot scheme would be carried out next year. We have been repeatedly telling that if the mineral wealth of the State is sufficiently tapped, the standard of living of the people of the State will surely rise and that industrial development of the State would also be accelerated. It is amusing that they have set apart a sum of only Rs. 39 lakhs for the industrial development of the country.

“ There has been much talk about this 5-year plan. I have been asking how far this State will benefit by this plan. That plan does not contain one sentence about the exploitation of the underground wealth of this State. There is no mention of some of the important projects of our State like the Amaravati Project in that plan. Especially, about the Tamilnad portion of the State, we do not find mention of any proper project in the 5-year plan. For the Amaravati Project, the Government have collected betterment fee from the ryots. Now that project is not included and I learn that the money collected has been returned to the ryots. During the elections, one of the Congress candidates in Tirunelveli district was assuring the people that in Sankarankoil taluk the Ghiriyar Project would be executed and that he would have it done if he was elected. I had to tell the people that this project has not been included in the 5-year plan of the Government of India and not even in the 15-year plan of the Madras State and so they cannot expect the Government to execute that project.”

“ Sir, you are well aware of the Centre's attitude towards our State now as well as in the Constituent Assembly. Sir, you have yourself explained on many occasions that the voice of this State is not felt in the Centre at all. With regard to the industrial and agricultural development of this State, we do not get sufficient sympathy from the Centre. It is either because the Ministers of this State are not able effectively to bring the actual position to the notice of the Centre or those people at the Centre are not sympathetic towards us, as we are far away in the South. People now complain that the Centre has taken most of the powers of the State. What happened in the Constituent Assembly? When powers of the State were sought to be taken away by the Centre, we moved amendments after amendments. We requested the people from the South to support our amendments. They said, ‘ No ’. What is the position now?

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TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN (Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar) :—“ The hon. Member may kindly conclude his speech soon.” 1-15 p.m.

* JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—“ Sir, this morning a Hindu gentleman came to me and told me that the tomb within the compound of the Stanley Hospital was about to be removed to some other place. He is a journalist and he is a sub-editor in one of the leading dailies in Madras. Sir, the tomb has been there for the last one hundred years and more. It was built long before the Stanley Hospital was built; so, even legally speaking that cannot be disturbed now. Now the authorities say that the tomb is a nuisance. I would ask the Government whether it is proper to exhume the dead body of the saint who is being held in great veneration by all people. Hindus, Muslims and Christians alike are very much exercised over this move. They have been pleading with the Government against its removal. Representations were made several times and consequently the question of removal was postponed from time to time. I now understand that they are going to remove the tomb within a week's time. I would request the Government to give due regard to the feelings and sentiments of the people and not to act hurriedly. The existence of the tomb there does not interfere with the working of the hospital. Why should not the Government put up proper enclosures so that people who visit the tomb may not be a source of nuisance to the inmates of the hospital, in-patients, doctors and nurses if the Government consider it to be a nuisance? I would ask the Government to examine the question in a dispassionate manner and see that the feelings and sentiments of the people are not offended.”

* SRI K. NATARAJAN :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I could not but appreciate the point of order raised by my esteemed Lady Friend when the gentleman who preceded me was speaking. Of course his speech was more an election speech or a tirade against the previous Government than one containing any constructive suggestions as regards the Budget or the policy underlying the Budget. Now, the Congress has been in power for six years in this State as well as in other States. My own feeling is that even the Ministers who have been defeated have a feeling of despondency over their defeats and they are even expressing sentiments here and there against the policies which they themselves pursued while in office. They criticise Prohibition; they criticise the educational policy of the Government. Similarly, they talk against all other policies of the Government. To-day one Member of this House criticised every aspect of the policy which was pursued by the late Government during the last six years. When these criticisms were advanced, my mind was always thinking about a family and a village. For example, suppose in a family one member is a drunkard; another is a wastrel, the third is uneducated and the fourth unhealthy, what would the managing member of the family or the family collectively do? They will try to eradicate all these evils and with the best aid and funds at their disposal they will try in spite of all difficulties to get over them. They will try to make the

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family a happy one as far as possible. Similarly, in a village if the modes of communication, for instance, are defective, the villagers will try to rectify the defects. Now I humbly ask; can it be said, in spite of all the vehemence which has been expended upon this point by many Members, that the Congress Government have not done their duty or have not endeavoured to do their duty as best as they could so far as eradication of the several evils that face us is concerned?

" Prohibition, I would say, with due respect to certain Members who oppose it including certain ex-Ministers, has succeeded. The existence of certain evils noticed in the administration of Prohibition only emphasises the need for being on the alert so that the policy might be effectively carried out. Every one must consider, for at least ten minutes, what his own surroundings are or her own surroundings are? They must consider how many people were given to drink before Prohibition was introduced and how many people have been relieved of that vice after the advent of Prohibition. How many families, which had become poor on account of the wayward habits of their members, have begun to lead better lives to-day? Every Member, even within the limited time at his disposal, must consider all these facts. I beg to reiterate, Sir, with all the emphasis I can command that Prohibition has brought about some salvation, if not appreciable, to the entire population of the State.

" As regards the Firka Development Scheme, I would appeal to every villager and to every resident of the locality immediately to visualise his surroundings and see how many roads have been put up, how many canals have been dug and how many tanks have been repaired as a result of the introduction of these schemes. If we get a comprehensive view of the whole continent of India, it may be that the expenditure that is involved in these is out of all proportion to the results sought to be achieved. But has not something been done in every village and every firka to improve the lot of the villagers? However critical we may be of any policy of the Government, however, critical we may be about the acts of individual Ministers who have been entrusted with the management of the affairs of the Government, it is not proper that we should shut our eyes to what has been really achieved.

" After all what is the atmosphere around us? Forget this State for the time-being, and pause to consider what the reasons are for the people of other States to return a working majority for the Congress in the Legislatures. What are the causes of the success of the Congress in almost all States in India? Has not Congress been returned to power in the Centre? So, is it to be stated, simply because it has suffered defeats here and there, that Congress has been a failure and that people do not like it? Look at the method of calculating the number of votes polled by the respective parties and the conclusions arrived at. Here in this State if the total number of votes polled by parties other than the Congress is taken into account, can it be said that they have polled more votes

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than the Congress? Is it good arithmetic to say so? My only appeal to those who have been defeated, including some of the Ministers who have been defeated is, that they should not lose hope and talk ill of the policies which they have followed, which they were ordained to follow and to which they pledged themselves. Let them do a little introspection and see what their own conduct was in carrying out the policies of the Government. Let them consider if they have been impartial in the discharge of their duties and there is no use blaming the policy of the Congress. Therefore, I wholeheartedly support the policy of the Government pursued in the last six years.

"One hon. Member was saying that in the Budget mention must have been made about the achievements of the Government in the last five years and the progress that is to be made in the next year. True. There is some force in that argument. But are we not given pamphlets, periodicals, etc., quarterly or half-yearly besides the journal published by the Government monthly? We have had the 'three years' achievements', 'five years' achievements' and so on. These are certainly useful documents . . ."

JANAB K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM :—"They give only the programme of the Government. What about results?"

* SRI K. NATARAJAN :—"If my hon. Friend and Members of his line of thinking had had some patience in going through the several pamphlets issued and published by the Government from time to time, they would have noticed that mention was made about the results also. I am only concentrating my attention on the results achieved so far. Can the hon. Member say that these books contain only programmes and nothing else? Can he say that plans mentioned in them have not been effectively carried out at least to some extent?"

"Sir, Members of the Opposition in this Council except one or two of them, I must gratefully admit, have not been hypercritical about the policy of the Government. They have in fact, wherever necessary, supported the Government. They have always given careful and well-considered counsel to the Government and I may add that even on this side of the House, so far as we are concerned, in spite of the pledges and in spite of the whips that have been issued to us, we have always been critical of the policy and the acts of the Government and we have pointed out then and there, much to the chagrin of some of the Ministers, the defects in their policies. We must all strive to work for the good of the people and not bring into such matters all sorts of petty and personal squabbles which have been the cause of the defeat of the Congress in getting a working majority in this State. Let me now turn to the general results in the recent elections. I do not mean any reflection on any party—there are stalwart men in every party, good men to lead the party—when I ask 'can any party, looking at the results, be now said to be in a position to carry on the administration?' There are

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parties with a strength of 20 or 30 or 40. Have they got an organized party to come forward before the public? Have they got apart from the Congress, an acceptable programme? Have they got a common organization? Can they form an effective coalition that may be successful in this State? It is no wonder that Governments are defeated. Even in England and America Governments get defeated. Ministers are defeated at election. But what is the reason there? Certainly not the one that we have seen here. The Congress has been defeated here because of differences of opinion among its ranks. I do not want to use pungent remarks. I would only attribute the defeat to differences of opinion. I would, therefore, entreat all the gentlemen who had been in the Congress and who had been in charge of the Administration as Members of the Government not to hereafter put forward views which are against their own actions in the past as Congressmen. The hon. Member Mr. Ibrahim said that some of the speeches here seemed to be another edition of what the Members of the Opposition have been saying all the while. That is not the attitude one should take. I am of course getting out of the field and it is necessary for me to refer to myself. I would appeal to the hon. Members of the Council and the public at large that they must endeavour to help and to co-operate with the Government in the carrying out of their policies.

1-30 P.m. “ So far as the Budget is concerned, I share the remarks made by the hon. Member Mr. Ibrahim that it may not be quite necessary for us to dwell upon details of the Budget. In fact I have been doing that during the past four or five years. This year's Budget is a fair budget and I must congratulate my Hon. Friend Sri Shetty for bringing in this statement in such a short time that was at his disposal. This is certainly likely to be recast by whatever Government may come into office hereafter, Congress, Coalition or any other. As far as it goes it only continues the plans and policies that have already been adopted. Here and there it might be said that sufficient moneys have not been provided for some purpose or other. As a care-taker Government presenting a deficit budget they have allotted only sums that may not be considered wasteful expenditure. Therefore I think the Budget is very commendable. The next Government may initiate new policies and place them before the House for discussion.

“ Sir, I humbly submit that unless there is a parallel policy put forward which is not divergent from the policy of the Congress and unless they have a sufficient majority no party, not only in this State but throughout India, can carry out their policies on a country-wide scale. There is no use in concentrating on the present debacle or the defeat of the Congress in not getting an overall majority in this State and saying all sorts of things and discouraging people who are in the Congress and who eagerly and seriously want to work out the policy.”

The House then rose for lunch.